

A  
LETTER  
TO THE

Right Honourable the  
Earl of BUTE,  
ON THE

Preliminaries of PEACE.

FROM

Neither a NOBLE Lord; a CANDID Mem-  
ber of Parliament; an IMPARTIAL Bri-  
ton, but, an

ENGLISHMAN.

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LONDON,

Printed for W. NICOLL, at the *Paper-Mill*,  
in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, 1762.

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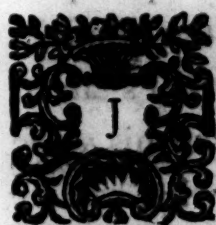
# A LETTER

TO THE

Right Honourable the

Earl of BUTE, &c.

MY LORD!



JUSTICE, HEADS, and  
CONFISCATIONS, says  
the petulant Mr. HEATH-  
COTE; and many other warm  
politicians in this great metropolis. Unhappy  
times! in which political rage, ignorance, and  
abuse, overwhelm the kingdom like a de-  
luge. Moderation is no more: all strive

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to

to be foremost in the dirtiest attacks ; and sacrifice every motive of honor, humanity and religion, to that detestable monster, Party ! Can publick disputes take from us all regard to national character ; and shall we give up that happy serenity of mind, which publick liberty can only bestow, by disturbing it with the illiberal torrent of partial politicks which now disgrace the nation ?

If our publick disputants did but stand forth with candour, and argue with impartiality and moderation, their works might be read at least with some entertainment, if not use ; but when we see, no respect paid to the highest personages, or the most sacred characters, when that writer's talents are thought best, who pours out his abuse in the most flowing quantity, what can we expect, but rhapsodies of nonsense, prejudice and absurdity ; what political or common knowledge can be expected from men whose only talent is that of declamatory

matory abuse ! How impolitick is it in these gentlemen to destroy the efficacy of their own arguments by an ill timed warmth, for no man who perceives a writer violent in his opinions, and hasty in his conclusions, will put much confidence in him, however well he writes. On the contrary, moderation and cool argument will never fail to give at least a good appearance to a man's reasoning, it will prejudice sensible readers in his favour, and prevent his laying himself open to palpable refutation : heat of political temper is the greatest enemy to truth ; it tempts a man to assert falsities ; to conceal facts that make against him, and consequently seldom or never to speak above half the truth : strange therefore, since this is so evidently the case, that so few political writers have the confidence and honesty to oppose the publick stream of clamour, to assert the cause of truth and moderation, and boldly to refute the lies, absurdities, and contradictions which too much abound.



I am far from arrogating, my Lord, any superior merit to my labours; suffice it for me to take pattern from a few sensible and moderate men, who have honored their country, by proving themselves the friends of the constitution, our trade, and political interests, without deviating from the paths of candour, or ever straying in the maze of party. These I would humbly imitate, and if I can in any degree assist in stopping the present rage of political rancour, I shall think myself sufficiently satisfied for any trouble I have taken in drawing up these pages.

The general topic of conversation, and unhappily of passionate abuse, at present is the late Preliminaries of Peace; almost the whole town and I suppose of course, the country, agree in railing at the terms, and vilifying the makers of them; with how much reason, I leave the unprejudiced to judge; our pamphlets, our newspapers,



papers, our magazines, our politicians who harrangue in coffee-houses; nay even the delicacy, wit, and smartness of our beaux and belles, are employed in abusing the peace, and railing at your Lordship; all, all are politicians without knowledge, and satirists without humour. Let me examine into the real merits of these terms, I shall consider them as concluded by the Crown, but shall not lay them to any particular minister's door.

His Majesty, and to his honor be it spoken, from a tender feeling for the sufferings of his people, and a knowledge of our inability to support so expensive and burthenome a war as long as our enemies, was determined to take the first good opportunity of concluding a safe, honorable, and lasting peace, he accordingly accepted the offers of France, to proceed to a second negotiation; which happily proceeded to the accomplishment of a treaty of Preliminaries, which have  
since

since been laid before the publick. Before I proceed to the examination of each article, I think it will be for the readers satisfaction to give a sketch of our present condition.

After a long, and incredibly expensive war, it is no wonder that the nation is in a great measure exhausted ; as it is most certainly, notwithstanding all the fine but false harrangues which have so often issued from the press, and the mouths of so many orators in the house of Commons, on our prosperous state, our opulence, extensive commerce, and victorious arms. The example of many antient and modern states and kingdoms might be produced to display the effects of prodigious riches, great debts, and a spirit of conquest : but I mean not to mislead the reader by any parallels that may be objected to by criticizing politicians, and give rise to warmth and altercation : our own situation will best prove and explain my meaning.

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Considerably above an hundred and thirty millions in debt, our politicians are for still adding million to million, till our credit is ruined, and the purses of the people drained to the last guinea. The wisest men in the nation are all sensible of the fatal effects which must inevitably attend a failure of our credit. When the string is drawn so tight as it is at present, no precaution can be useless to preserve the due medium, and guard against a crack : the spirit which a long train of successes has spread amongst the people, depends entirely upon a uniform flow of good fortune ; a single misfortune, an unexpected reverse would depress us at once : It might not sink the courage of our troops, but it would weaken our sinews of strength ; our stocks would fall, how low cannot be asserted, but we are acquainted with the effect which even the borrowing one year's supplies has on them : In such a case, our credit would sink, and  
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the cry would then be for a peace on any terms : while our debt is of such a prodigious amount, our situation cannot but be extremely ticklish ; and no success however great can insure us a continuation of it. Had we funded only to the sum of forty or fifty millions, perhaps the nation would not be the weaker for it, and an addition of five or six would not be of great consequence, but when we arise to the enormous amount of our present debt ; every addition is of dreadful consequence, and I may venture to assert, that no conquests which it is possible for us to make in another or two years, can by any means, supposing we retain them, repay us for the increase of danger resulting from our internal burthen. How many motives are there for making a peace on moderate terms, when almost a breath of ill success would at once overthrow the advantages of a long and expensive war.

But



But there are yet other motives for rejoicing at the conclusion of a peace : the burthen of additional taxes, and the prodigious want of hands occasioned by the war, has long ago made almost the whole country wish most ardently for a conclusion to their terrible inconveniences. Many in this capital find their account in the war, no wonder therefore a peace is abused by them ; but our manufactories are many of them ruined, and others cramped for want of hands and high wages, a multitude of the most profitable branches of trade have been lost for several years ; in short the numbers that have long suffered through the continuance of the war surely deserve as much to be heard, as those who gain by it.

I know it may be answered that had we continued hostilities, a year or two longer, we might have made acquisitions of such importance as fully to repay us for all our

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losses

losses both at home and abroad, and for the increase of our national debt. But such acquisitions must be immense indeed ; too great for us ever to expect our enemies would agree to : If we were at war with a free people, these arguments I own would have much more reason in them ; but our enemy is an absolute monarch who can avail himself of the last shilling in his subjects pockets and the last drop of their blood ; who can never be forced by popular clamour to conclude a peace, and whose kingdom from its vast extent, admirable situation and internal resources can carry on the war for years to come, and overcome us by the meer continuance of our expences. We make war on this people at the prodigious expence of twenty millions a year : let me ask the warmest opposer of peaceful measures how many years he thinks this nation great and powerful as it is, can support such an annual drain ?

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The court of Versailles is not under the least necessity of aiming at an offensive war; the two last years they maintained their defensive one out of the ordinary revenue of the crown in times of war; from the year 1756 they have never raised one regiment extraordinary for the war, but only recruited the old ones from their militia: that kingdom itself is far too compact and strong for us to make any impression on it; they have laid on the defensive in Germany and abandoned their colonies to their fate, when their navy was ruined, in this situation they may remain for years, and never weaken themselves by their inactivity, half so much as we by our conquests which we never make without adding millions to our debt.

The nation has been too often abused in the unfair representations of our enemy's state. Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons three years ago, after the bat-

tle of Minden which he magnified to a second Bleinheim with all the eloquence of expression, assured us that that battle was the *effort of despair*, and the *last gasp of a dying power* : but this power was far from being dead ; however the same orator repeated his assertions the following year, and if we did not see France breathing out her last gasp, we at least had our ears pleased with all the delusive charms of flowing eloquence : still we were told the enemy was no more, but we have since found the vanity of these notions ; nor would there be any end of listening to such assertions of our enemy's weakness. How little reason had Mr. Heathcote to call that power a *sprawling, struggling, dying* one. This is the language of party resentment, not unprejudiced reasoning. I am far from attacking so respectable a character as Mr. Pitt's, in the above hint, far be it from me to insinuate any unjust suspicions against him, I only mention those speeches as mistakes — I suppose they  
are



are to be considered as the animated expressions of the warmth of oratory. Having premised thus much on the state of the two kingdoms, let me proceed to examine the several articles of the Preliminaries, the first is of no importance.

## ARTICLE II.

His Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions he has heretofore formed, or might have formed to Nova-Scotia or Acadia in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it with all its dependencies, to the king of Great-Britain. Moreover his most Christian Majesty, cedes and guaranties to his said Britannick Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape-Breton, and all the other islands in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, without restriction and without any liberty to depart from this cession and guaranty, under any pretence, or to trouble Great-Britain in the possessions

feſſions abovementioned. His Britannick  
 Maſteſty on his ſide, agrees to grant to the  
 inhabitants of Canada the liberty of the Ca-  
 tholick Religion. He will in conſequence  
 give the moſt exact and the moſt effectual  
 orders, that his new Roman Catholick ſub-  
 jects may proteſs the worſhip of their re-  
 ligion according to the rites of the Ro-  
 man Church, as far as the laws of Great-  
 Britain permit. His Britannick Maſteſty  
 further agrees that the French inhabitants  
 or others who would have been ſubjects  
 of the Moſt Chriſtian King in Canada,  
 may retire in all ſafety and freedom where-  
 ever they pleaſe; and may ſell their eſtates  
 provided it be to his Britannick Maſteſty's  
 ſubjects, and transport their effects, as well  
 as their perſons without being reſtrained  
 in their emigration, under any pretence  
 whatever, except debts or criminal proſe-  
 cutions: the term limited for this emi-  
 gration being fixed to the ſpace of eighteen  
 months, to be computed from the day of  
 the ratification of the definitive treaty.

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This article being the most material in the whole treaty, I must beg your Lordship's leave to dwell a moment upon it. It is impossible to form a tollerable judgment of a peace, without considering the motives on which we went to war. The French incroached upon us from Canada. They had formed a well laid scheme against our colonies, which in time would have been fatal to them : the situation of Canada gave them every advantage they could wish ; they had fortified all the passes in the strongest manner, they had built a vast chain of forts to secure the connection of their different territories, and annoy and cramp us : from Montreal their troops were speedily conveyed to all their strong posts : Crown-Point, a post of which we formerly heard so much, and which if the French had given it up, would have prevented the war, is situated in the midst of woods and marshes, and we found was for a long while able to baffle all our attacks.



attacks. Fort Frontenac, Niagara, Fort du Quesne, and twenty more were all thought places of immense importance, but a few years ago : and had any man pretended to have held an argument upon the comparative advantages which would have resulted from a conquest of any one of these formidable forts, or a French sugar island, he would have been thought a madman. We then felt the prodigious inconveniencies which must inevitably attend their being in possession of our enemy. All our North-American colonies were in the most immediate danger ; the admirable situations which the French had chose for erecting forts to annoy us, were so well calculated, that almost every Indian nation in North-America were curbed and secured to the interest of France : they had thoroughly commanded the navigation of all the great rivers : the communication between all the parts of their immense countries was open and free ; all their subjects secure and defended from



from our incursions, while the English frontiers laid open to the ravages of the French Indians : and let any impartial man recollect the dreadful accounts we every day had of the condition New-England, New-York, Pensylvania, Maryland and Virginia were in. Let him consult all the traicts of those days, and remember on what account it was that popular clamour then ran so high : all cried out on the imminent danger our best colonies were in ; on the immediate necessity of reducing Crown-Point and Fort du Quesne, the only two forts to which we had the least pretension. After a three years war in America with what joy would this nation have received a peace which ceded those two forts to us, and clearly defined the limits of Canada. We had then spent several millions ; yet these two forts were then thought worth their millions. The notions of the sensible part of the people in those days were very just. I remember often to have heard many assert that it

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was

was impossible we should have a bad peace if our North-American colonies were perfectly secured.

But how different is the case now ! Canada, which we then felt was of such infinite consequence, is now hardly ever spoke of : Crown-Point, Fort du Quesne, Frontinac and Niagara, which then occasioned such warm conversation, are now never named. It used to be perpetually dinned in our ears, that unless we thoroughly secured our North-American colonies we should be ruined ; but now some writers are so changed and infatuated that they make a doubt if Canada and all our colonies put together are in value equal to the single island of Guardalupe ! Such writers by endeavouring to prove too much, prove nothing. And by the extravagance of their arguments, destroy the testimony of their evidence. But it becomes cool and unprejudiced writers to argue in a different manner.

It would be no difficult matter to prove that this single article would have made the peace a good one without examining any other. Till the conquest of the sugar islands raised up a great number of interested advocates for them, the value of our North - American territories, was fully known ; their improvement was wished for, and the whole nation echoed their importance, and with very good reason. It was always well known that they were the greatest and surest source of trade ; the readiest market for our manufactures and every advantage we reaped from them was so permanent that no wars, no troubles could deprive us of them, while we kept them sacred to ourselves. For many years the land in some of the best, particularly Pensilvania, Maryland and Virginia, has been in a great measure worn out, and that is come to a great price, in so much that all along upon the sea coast it lets for 20, 25, 30, 35 and even to 40 shillings an acre. To remedy such a



growing inconvenience, the planters by degrees removed further in the back country, and there found the land rich and fresh, and to procure a sufficient quantity for a long time and many planters, they procured a grant, through a well known gentleman, for 500000 acres on the banks of the Ohio, a fine beautiful and fertile country well watered and conveniently situated.

But the French no sooner saw this than they at once perceived the immense consequence of that country and our conduct : alarmed at so advantageous a scheme, they immediately determined to pretend a right to the country, and drive our planters out of it, which they accordingly effected. This conduct occasioned the present war, therefore the reader is desired to remark the French thought, this tract of country well worth going to war for, although we at present think it of no importance.

What



What I have asserted is not matter of conjecture, but fact; and our colonies were in some of their branches of agriculture going backward for want of fresh land. But let me enquire into their future state now, that not only those formidable forts which I have mentioned above, but all Canada itself with its dependencies, are ceded to us for ever. Our colonies now will have land enough, and let me assert, one of the largest and finest tracts of country in the world, fertile to a great degree, and able to produce any thing, particularly Tobacco, I speak of that noble range of country lying on the Ohio, both to the south of it and to the north, quite to the lakes. This country the French would have possessed, but by the late peace, we have happily secured it to ourselves. The tract on the Ohio is larger than His Majesty's three kingdoms, and let me add, a much finer country; now it is easy to be conceived, how very speedily our planters will spread themselves over this noble dominion,

nion, they will raise in it many articles for a British market, in exchange for our manufactures, and our Tobacco trade will be infinitely increased. If we consider the vast demand for our manufactures which these prodigious acquisitions will soon occasion, the importance will be found greater than several Guardalupes. They will send home materials of the best sort for ship-building, besides the commodities I mentioned before, in exchange for all kinds of British commodities. Sugar, cotton, and all the different articles produced in the West-Indies employs comparatively very few seamen; that is, one hundred thousand pounds in North-American produce, will employ trebble the ships, to the same value in West-Indian, which is another point of very great consequence.

It is a well known calculation, that our North American plantations, have doubled their inhabitants every twenty five years, since Queen Elizabeth, except within about  
twenty

twenty years last past in our middle colonies, which must undoubtedly be owing to their being cramped by the French; for the Southern ones which have had no bar to their encrease, have continued it to this day. The effects of this treaty will soon be perceived, in the encrease of inhabitants there, for they will now have it in their power to spread themselves in safety, over a vast continent; and encrease wonderfully when the Indians are closely connected to them, and the whole country wears the face of peace and plenty; then we shall find our manufactures sold all over North America, and to nations of Indians we never heard of before; the immense advantages which will result to us, from this would best repay us for our great expences, far better than such an island as Guardalupe, or any other which it would have been possible for us to retain.

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## ARTICLE III.

The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing, and drying, on a part of the island of Newfoundland, such as it is specified in the XIII Article of the treaty of Utrecht; which article shall be confirmed and renewed by the approaching definitive treaty, (except what regards the island of Cape Breton, as well as the other islands in the mouth, and in the gulph of St. Lawrence.) And his Britannick Majesty consents to leave to the Most Christian King's subjects, the liberty to fish in the gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the fishery, but at the distance of three leagues, from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent as those of the islands situated in the said gulph of St. Lawrence. And as to what relates to the fishery out of the said gulph, his Most Christian Majesty's subjects shall not exercise the fishery  
but



but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape-Breton.

## ARTICLE IV.

The King of Great-Britain cedes the islands of St. Peter and Miquelon in full right to his Most Christian Majesty to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen; and his said Majesty obliges himself on his royal word not to fortify the said islands, to erect no buildings there, but meerly for the conveniency of the fishery; and to keep there only a guard of fifty men for the police.

In my observations on the second article I took no notice of the cession of Cape-Breton because it concerned the 3d and 4th much more nearly. I may very reasonably say of that, what I asserted of Canada; that a few years ago it was justly reckoned of immense importance, but now it is quite forgot: what a prodigious conquest did we think Louisbourg; two successive wars

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did we put ourselves to an immense expence to take it, and by this peace it is ceded for ever to us ; and thereby a mortal blow is given to the French fishery: for it should be remembered that one of the most valuable fisheries they possessed was within the fifteen leagues which they are by the treaty prevented from fishing in. Prodigious quantities of cod was taken in the very harbour of Louisbourg, and within three leagues of it, where they fished securely, nothing preventing them. But these advantages which we have now gained for ourselves, and which will make our own fishery infinitely greater than it was before the war, and proportionably lower that of the enemy, are now through the meer effects of party rage thought of little account. By these articles we have so cramped their fishery, that it will no more be the great nursery of seamen it was heretofore : I am far from asserting that it will be of no consequence to them, but only that we have greatly curtailed it.

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The French I am fully persuaded would never have made a peace while we insisted on having the whole fishery : and I think I have already showed how much more able they are to carry on a long war than we.

## ARTICLE V.

The town and port of Dunkirk shall be put into the state fixed by the last treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and by former treaties : the cunette shall remain as it now is, provided that the English engineers named by his Britannick Majesty, and received at Dunkirk by order of his Most Christian Majesty verify, that this cunette is only of use for the wholesomeness of the air, and the health of the inhabitants.

This excellent article like several others in the Preliminaries, has been condemned by a whole party as of little consequence to the nation, and not worth any concession in return for it.

But



But all impartial men are of a different opinion and prize it as it really deserves. I shall on this occasion quote the words of a political writer, whose testimony is undoubted. Speaking of the importance of this port in the Queen's war, he says, " But if we had nothing but the instance of this year's trouble and expence, in which no less than thirty of our and the States-General's ships were employed in watching the Dunkirk squadron, it would be sufficient to shew the absolute necessity of keeping that port in its present situation, and never permit the French to gain by plunder the effects of other people's industry; neither can any slight commerce carried on there in time of peace, make the maritime powers the least amends for the risk they must run on the breaking out of a war, should this port ever be restored. I hint this the rather because some people have laid a great stress on our commerce, by means of that port which



which they would have us believe turns in the main more to our advantage than to that of the French. It is certain however that such as are of that opinion have little acquaintance with the maxims of the French government, or the attention that the present French ministry pay to things of this nature; there being perhaps no nation in the world where nicer enquiries are made into whatever regards commerce\*. The demolition of this place is of prodigious importance; it lies but thirteen leagues from the South Foreland, and any easterly wind which carries our ships down the Channel brings out those at Dunkirk, to meet and intercept them, which during the two last wars, made it often suspected, that the French had intelligence either from our admiralty, or secretary's office; though very probably without foundation, since the very situation of the place, furnished the enemy with advantages enough; for the east end

\* Lives of the Admirals, vol. 3, p. 347, 2d. Edit.

of the Channel, which is so much exposed to Dunkirk, is but seven leagues broad, and gives them an opportunity of seeing our ships from side to side. It clearly appears from hence, that six parts in nine of our trade from the port of London is freed from most of the hazards of the last war; and tho' part of this must be exposed when it passes through the chops, or western entrance of the channel, yet it must be considered that it was liable to this also before, so that no new inconvenience is created; and besides, this is only the South trade, such ships as go to Holland, Hambro' or the North, are absolutely free. Besides all this, the demolition of Dunkirk is an irretrievable blow to the French naval power, and even to their trade, especially to the West-Indies,

## ARTICLE VI.

In order to re-establish peace on the most solid and lasting foundations, and to remove for ever every subject of dispute  
with

with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America : It is agreed, that, for the future the confines between the dominions of his Britannick Majesty, and those of his Most Christian Majesty in that part of the world shall be irrevocably fixed by a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi from its source, as far as the river Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and of the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea ; and to this purpose the Most Christian King cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty, the river and port of Mobile, and every thing that he possesses, or ought to have possessed on the left side of the river Mississippi except the Town of New-Orleans, and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France ; provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi, shall be equally free as well to the subjects of Great-Britain, as to those of France in its whole



whole breadth and length from its source to the sea, and that part expressly which is between the said island of New-Orleans, and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth. It is further stipulated that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation shall not be stopt, visited or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulation in favour of the inhabitants of Canada, inserted in the second article, shall also take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

This article deserves the highest praises: Clearness and perspicuity ought to be the distinguishing mark of every treaty of peace; it has been often observed, and with very great reason, that the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chappelle, were greatly defective in not fixing the boundaries between the colonies of the two nations: Mr. Pitt's negotiation was also very  
ina-



adequate in this respect. He made the nations of Indians between our colonies and the river Mississippi, the separation between the territories of the two nations; had this article been concluded on such an agreement, it must inevitably have proved the occasion of a fresh war, whenever the French chose to incroach in a silent manner on us, which would have given rise to a long series of negotiation concerning the limits, while they would be strengthening themselves in that intermediate country; just as they acted the beginning of this war, when they incroached on our back settlements, and pretended that the country was theirs by treaty. All these consequences are avoided by the clear manner in which our limits are laid down by the present treaty. And we have also ceded to us, a most noble country, capable of producing almost any thing, from the rich fertility of the soil, and the warm serenity of the climate. The French have raised in it indigo, cotton, sugar,

F                      tobacco,

tobacco, rice, &c. &c. all commodities of the greatest value, and which in time will prove of infinite consequence to this nation: we may judge of the partiality of those men who condemn this treaty of peace, from their finding fault with even this article; which is certainly one of the best that ever found the way into an English peace.

## ARTICLE VII.

The King of Great-Britain shall restore to France, the islands of Guadaloupe, of Mariegalante, of Desirade, of Martinico, and of Belle-isle; and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in, when they were conquered by the British arms; provided that the term of eighteen months to be computed from the day of the ratification of the definitive treaty shall be granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects who may have settled in the same islands, and  
other

other places restored to France by the definitive treaty, to sell their estates, recover their debts, and to transport their effects as well as their persons without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions.

Your Lordship will allow that this article in appearance is the worst for us in the whole treaty; but that you are the best judge of: I do not suppose the French court would have agreed to any peace that did not restore these islands to them: I have proved very clearly, I think that if they took any such determination on any particular article, and had stood firmly to it, we must either have given it up or continued the war; the latter would undoubtedly have given the point in contest to France in the end, for there cannot be any doubt but she would tire us out by protracting the war, and at last



absolutely oblige us to accept of her terms to get rid of our load of expence : I apprehend this to have been the case, with regard to the article before me, and that the ministry endeavoured to retain Guardalupe, but finding that the enemy would never make peace and cede it to us unless we were satisfied with it, without our other prodigious acquisitions in America ; they very prudently gave up Guardalupe rather than Canada and Louissiana : and as to their continuing the war on this account it would have been madness to the last degree, when they had it in their power to make a very good peace without it. The disputes which have been so long the subject of political essays, on the comparative value of Canada and Guardalupe, has been strained perhaps on both sides undue lengths, but surely no disinterested man, when he reflects on the situation of this nation when the war broke out, can ever bring the island in comparison to the interests of our Northern colonies : In point of

secu-

security there can be no parallel, and in that of commercial interests, the consumption of our manufactures in our Northern acquisitions will be far greater than they would have been in both Martinico and Guardalupé : this has been undeniably proved as far as the fact will admit.

### A R T I C L E VIII.

Cedes the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines to Great-Britain : the neutral ones divided, St. Lucia to France; and St. Vincent, Dominico, and Tobago to Great-Britain.

That your Lordship may not think me prejudiced in favour of every article of this treaty, I will freely own that I expected the island of St. Lucia would have been ceded to us : our merchants before we made our conquests in the West-Indies, were in very great want of a harbour in that part of the world, that is secure and  
safe

safe from hurricanes : in this article therefore I think any reasonable man may regret that the ministry did not insist upon the possession of St. Lucia, especially as its situation is so very advantageous for us, both for annoying the enemy in case of a future war, and also for defending our own islands. This omission was certainly to our disadvantage; indeed Mr. Pitt fell into the same error in his negotiation, but that should have been no example to the present ministry. However to speak in the most candid manner, I cannot but think that the many, and great advantages we procure by this treaty, renders it an exceeding good one, notwithstanding this one oversight, for I don't know one more of any importance in the whole; and this is greatly palliated by the cession of those other islands to us; it is a very great mistake to imagine that the French sugar trade is so much greater than ours; they export more than we to foreign countries, but our islands produce as much  
very



very near as theirs, and consequently take off in return an almost equal quantity of manufactures. Mr. Heathcote's arguments on this point are all spun out on the most false and superficial foundation.

## ARTICLE IX.

Restores Goree to France, and cedes Senegal to Great-Britain.

I believe your Lordship is very sensible that this article has been condemned without the least show of reason: By it a great and valuable branch of trade, is thrown into our hands, and several articles of commerce, which before we were forced to take from the French; particularly the gum trade, which alone is valued commonly at £ 100,000 a year, but from very authentic authority I can assert it cost us £ 150,000 a year for it before the war. I know it has often been said that Senegal without Goree is  
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of little value, but the very reverse is in some degree the case, and this resulting from the situation; for which reason Goree is not of half the value of the other settlement; so egregiously are our politicians mistaken. Your Lordship, it must be allowed, for your share of the transaction, deserves very great praise for this article.

## ARTICLE X.

Restores to France the several Comptoirs on the coasts of Coromandel, Malabar, and Bengal, as they were in 1749. France restores all her conquests in the East-Indies, and engages not to erect any fortifications or to keep any troops in Bengal.

No greater care could possibly have been taken of the interests of the East-India Company, than what is done by this article, which none but the most prejudiced and ignorant persons can find fault

fault with : all the great advantages of the India trade are hereby ceded to Great-Britain. These comptoirs which are to be restored to France, will be of little consequence to them : the most considerable and the best situated for trade are those in Bengal, where the French engage not to keep any troops or erect any fortifications, which is very near the same, as if their trade on that coast was ruined ; for they will necessarily lay themselves open to the Invasion and attacks of the Indian Nabobs and other powers there, which must inevitably cramp, and render their commerce extremely precarious. How much better is this article, than that in Mr. Pitt's negociation, in which all the affairs of the East Indies were to be left to the determination of commissaries appointed by the two companies, which would inevitably have turned out greatly to our disadvantage ; and have given our enemy any opportunity to quibble us into another war.



## ARTICLE XI.

Restores Minorca to Great-Britain.

Strange as it may sound, your Lordship has been much blamed for this article. Our politicians have supposed of course that something of immense importance, was given for this island. What the cession was, which was immediately opposed to it, I know not, but certain I am, it is very well worth an important one. Since we have lost it, some very superficial reasoners have pretended that the expence of keeping it was greater far than the advantages which resulted from the possession: but this is diametrically opposite to common sense; when our acquisitions grew so numerous and important that the nation thought there never would be an end to them, they began to overlook and forget all their old possessions, and every thing was then to be sacrificed that clash-

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ed the least with our conquests. If we never make any other use of Minorca, than as a noble harbour for our ships in the Mediterranean, it is of very great importance to us; and well deserving the first care of the ministry; but if future administrations make the best use of this island, it might turn out infinitely to our advantage: it should be made one general free port, and the center of our Mediterranean trade, if this was once done, all the commercial interest of the nation would at once feel the importance of Minorca. But the administration ought to have due praise rendered them, for obtaining the restitution of an island which is of such great consequence, and may be made of so much greater.

## ARTICLE XII.

France restores all the countries belonging to Hanover, Hesse, and Buckebourg.

## ARTICLE XIII.

France evacuates the fortresses of Cleves, Wesel, and Guelders, and all the countries belonging to the King of Prussia. And the British and French armies to evacuate the countries in their possession, and to retire into their respective dominions; and the two Kings engage not to furnish their respective allies with any succour.

Your Lordship will give me leave, on these articles to observe, that the greatest difficulty under which the ministry laboured in regard both to the conduct of the war and the peace, was the German war. They found the nation engaged in that pernicious connection which drained it of upwards of £ 6000000 annually. With such a terrible *Mill Stone* about their necks, the war could not be continued, and in the conclusion of a peace, it must give rise to the greatest difficulties; the French there  
had



had all along the advantage; notwithstanding the show of flashy success under Duke Ferdinand, with which the nation was from time to time amused. Here then, this war proved the clog, and on no other consideration would the ministry have given up so many of our acquisitions. But sure the getting rid of so prodigious a burthen, ought to have been a very great inducement to conclude the war, and necessarily to restore many of our acquisitions. I have showed, I think, elsewhere, that they parted with as few as possible, considering the circumstances the nation is in. But if we look into Mr. Pitt's negotiation, we shall find that the evacuation of these countries, was to have cost that minister all our West-Indian acquisitions; the strongest proof that the German war must have been attended with such consequences, who ever had made the peace.

## ARTICLE XIV.

The French immediately evacuate Ostend and Nieuport.

Another article of the greatest importance : if your Lordship turns to Buff's negotiation, you will find, that Mr. Pitt trusted in relation to these two towns, to the French King's asserting, he never intended to keep possession of them : far be it from me to insinuate any thing against that minister, but your Lordship must perceive, how very differently the present ministry have acted, they have secured this point effectually, and one of very great consequence it is. The French by means of them extended their coast too formidable already, along ours, and endangered the safety of Flanders, but that country is now secure ; which has formerly cost us such seas of blood and mines of gold. The 15th article, my Lord, is not of consequence, but the 16th merits observation.

## ARTICLE XVI,

The right of cutting Logwood in the bay of Honduras, &c. and the building houses and magazines confirmed.

Here is a trade of the greatest value, and which we have so long endeavour'd, in vain to get confirmed, ceded to us in full right. Shame attend those prejudiced persons who abuse this peace, merely on party accounts. I suppose they will run down the logwood trade, and insist on its being prejudicial to the kingdom : a trade of the highest importance to our manufactures, and which Spain never till now would cede to us : unprejudiced men will find very few articles in this treaty, but what deserve the greatest commendation.

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## ARTICLE XVII.

The King of Spain desists from all pretensions to the Newfoundland fishery.

I have read two or three books in Spanish, on the trade of Spain, which contain several memorials to the court of Madrid from their trading towns, setting forth their right of fishing, and the immense importance of this fishery; and the court of Spain would never before drop the pretension, but always kept it up: and their memorial to Mr. Pitt on this, and the Logwood trade, is very well remembered: it remained however for the present Ministry to assert the interest and honor of the Nation, in relation to this demand. This article can be objected to by none, but the lowest scum of prejudiced politicians.

## ARTICLES XVIII and XIX.

The Havannah restored; for which Spain cedes Florida.

The crown of Spain could not have ceded to us any thing of such great importance as Florida: We have already found the great inconveniencies of this troublesome neighbour to our southern and weakest colonies; and when general Oglethorpe commanded there, it was severely felt; but by this article the whole country; an immense and very fine one, is ceded to us. From situation as well as produce, of infinite importance to Great-Britain: no other cession could have been of half the consequence. As to those Gentlemen, who were for keeping Cuba, I think they might just as well talk of our conquering and keeping Mexico and Peru,

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## ARTICLE XX.

The King of Portugal included in the treaty ; his dominions to be evacuated by the French and Spaniards, and all conquests made on him to be restored.

Another article, in which not only the interest, but the honor of the nation are asserted and preserved. When we conquered the Havannah, your Lordship must certainly remember, that almost the whole nation immediately said, “ we have now got a deposit for Portugal.” It was justly supposed, that the Spaniards would make great conquests on that kingdom, and that we should restore the Havannah to recover them ; but the ministry have done more, they have not only perfectly secured his Portuguese Majesty, but gained three most admirable articles besides for the Havannah. Nor can any thing be more truly honorable to us than this article : weak and impotent as Portugal was, we have secured



cured her against the two most potent crowns of France and Spain : the latter of which could hope to indemnify herself no where else for her losses. But whatever excellencies we find in this treaty ; the party rage, which now inflames all ranks of men, blinds them, and makes them in spite of all sense and reason condemn, what they must know in their hearts is good. I pass, my Lord to article 24, as the intermediate ones are not of great importance, I shall only observe that the periods for evacuating the conquests are very well specified and reasonably fixed, but they are the same for both French, Spaniards and English.

## ARTICLE XXIV.

Prisoners made on all parties to be restored. Each crown respectively to pay the advances for maintenance, &c. to each other's prisoners.

This article I should think very pleasing, because never expected. We have laid out considerable sums in cloathing and maintaining the French prisoners, which by this treaty is to be reimbursed. It is a point of no very great importance, but shows that the ministry in the conclusion of the peace did not forget the minutest matters.

I have now, my Lord, examined the most important articles of the treaty of Preliminaries: I have laid aside all prejudice for any party, and called for no guide but candour: I think I have showed that this peace is far from being what too many misguided men have thought it. The rage of party now runs so high that no merit is allowed it, a strong presumption that they judge not in cool reason. We have made many noble acquisitions, by which our trade will be greatly encreased, and our security strengthened in  
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the surest manner. We are now relieved from a most prodigious expensive and burthenfome war ; which was attended notwithstanding our success, by many fatal consequences ; such as the ruin of many of our manufactures, and the enormous encrease of a debt, as dangerous as it is large : the only time and just way of considering whether a peace is a good one or not, is to consider the end for which a nation goes to war ; if that is answered, a peace cannot be a bad one : our aim I apprehend, was to secure our American colonies ; and perhaps I may politically add, to clip the spreading wings of our enemy's naval power. The first of these points we have effected in the fullest extent of the word ; even to the utter extirpation of the French from those regions, where they annoyed us. As to the second point, the marine of the enemy is entirely sunk, from formidable squadrons which they sent out at the beginning of the war, they are now reduced to a few rotten ships, without  
 seamen



seamen and without stores. The whole trade of France is ruined insomuch, that scarce a merchant survives this so destructive war. Here then are our ends of going to war fully answered. A nation can scarce ever expect to be indemnified for any expences they are at, otherwise than by the ruin of their enemy. But we have greatly indemnified ourselves without speaking of the point of future security; we have made several noble acquisitions, which will not only greatly encrease our trade, but open a vast demand for our manufactures. And besides we conclude the war with fullness of honor, while we trample our enemy's trade under feet, and while our own is in the most flourishing condition: their naval power ruined; ours in its highest glory, and most formidable state: in short, whether we consider our situation as a maritime power, a commercial people, or a military nation; our evident superiority in every point is secured. We have acted to our ally with all honor, and  
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have concluded a glorious peace; without displaying a thirst of conquest.

Those who expected that we should retain all we conquered; rendered themselves the dupes of their own Quixote imaginations; I have, I think, already showed that France would have continued the war for years, and have tired us out by meer dint of putting us to immense expences, rather than make such a peace. Nor could we demand without injuring our character as a nation, such extravagant terms. What would a nation desire more from a war, than we possess from this; our acknowledged superiority of power, will deter our enemies from again trespassing on our rights, they have felt too dear the effects of their incroachments. Nor will the Spaniards be in haste again to declare against us. This war has taught them the value of our friendship, and they will naturally for the future, dread a power that has given them in one year such fatal blows.

blows. No increase of commerce that we could possibly expect, would fully repay us for all our expences : could such indemnifications ever be expected, we should much oftener be troubled with wars in Europe. But we are as well paid as any nation ought to expect. We shall gain by the peace a great increase of trade, in furs, indigo, cotton, rice, sugar, tobacco, &c. by Canada, Louisiana and Florida ; besides a most immense demand for manufactures. We shall greatly encrease our cod fishery. In the West-Indies, we gain several islands of much more importance than some are pleased to allow, and the advantageous Logwood trade. On the coast of Africa, our trade will be prodigiously increased in several very valuable articles, such as gum, gold dust, ivory and slaves. In the East-Indies, our company will have every advantage they can wish, in point of territory and commerce, and in Europe, our ally is secured ; Dunkirk demolished, and Ostend and New-  
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port evacuated, besides getting honorably clear of German connections.

Now let us reverse the medal, in reciting our advantages, I have mentioned only our increase of trade, &c. since the beginning of the war. But as for France and Spain, I know not one article in the whole treaty by which they gain an inch of territory, or twenty shillings worth of trade. I have before showed how infinitely they have both lost; insomuch that they will remain at the peace, in a vastly worse situation than when they entered into the war. Where ever we have gained either territory or trade, they have necessarily lost it: all the branches of our commerce in the most flourishing situation, theirs utterly ruined; so that they have in every quarter to raise a trade from a beginning, and both to build ships and make seamen, before they can send a dozen men of war to sea. Surely this comparison points out in the strongest manner the excellen-

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cies of the peace ; and if it is said, they will soon revive their trade and naval power ; it may be answered, that with so many advantages over them, which we did not possess at the beginning of the war, it is our own faults if we do not preserve our infinite superiority : they may revive ; but they can never rival us to any effect : for every loss they have sustained, will proportionably strengthen us.

I cannot conclude, my Lord, without mentioning the opposition which is at present forming to his majesty's measures. A great personage of distinguished rank, the Dukes of N—w—le and D--n--re, Mr. P—t, Mr. C—s I—n—d, &c. &c. with all their followers and adherents, are it seems in this opposition, and form the heads of it. Let me ask what it is they oppose ? Do they think the peace a bad one ! That cannot be a plea, it is too late now. The peace is signed, --- and as I have already showed for the  
honor

honor and interest of the nation : Do they oppose the raising the necessary arrears of the war ? Such an opposition would be absurd and cruel, they would take the bread from the mouths of hundreds to whom it is due, and to whom the faith of parliament is alledged, what then can they now oppose ? ——— Meerly men, not things. It is a trial for power, and the least that is considered, is the good of the nation. Supposing these gentlemen to have succeeded and placed at the head of affairs themselves, what more good will they do than the present ministry ? The great and important points of war and peace will be over : nothing will remain but the conduct of the interior government, and the disposal of places, &c. That's their aim : the loaves and fishes, not his Majesty's service, are at stake : nay, nothing further can be at stake ; and I think this ought to be a speaking lesson to the nation, not to interest itself so highly in which party is uppermost ; the one has put a period



ried to a bloody and expensive war, by a good and honorable peace: the other without hopes of amending it, disturb the government, raise tumults in the nation, for what? ——— For private views. I cannot wonder at the conduct of their leader, nothing but lucrative views can be expected from him. But I hope Mr. P---t who before was S-----y, with such eclat, when we could not do without him, will not now cast a veil over his former conduct, by accepting of any post, on mercenary designs. It ill becomes the man who lives upon the bounty of the crown, to oppose his Majesty's aim, at making his people happy.

*I am, my Lord,*

*Your Lordship's, &c.*

**FINIS**